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INFO RUCNIRA/IRAN COLLECTIVE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BERLIN 000945

SENSITIVE SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: KNNP PARM PREL MNUC IR GM

SUBJECT: EU's Solana Welcomes US Participation in

Meeting with Iranians

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## SUMMARY

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11. (SBU) On July 15-16, EU Foreign Policy Chief Javier Solana joined a number of high-ranking former and current foreign policy officials in Berlin at a conference entitled "Managing Global Insecurity (MGI)". During the course of the conference, Solana offered generalized comments about the multilateral system and first thoughts on the upcoming meeting in Geneva with Iranian Nuclear Negotiator Saeed Jalili. Solana warmly welcomed US participation, but lamented a previous missed opportunity for engagement in 12005. He cautioned that Iranian response timing could be a difficulty in what he called the "second phase" of the interactions. Solana, in a discussion with IAEA Director General El-Baradei, said that "an Iranian-US bilateral [meeting] is fundamental," and commented that the U.S.'s physical presence in Geneva is a "very constructive" step beyond a "signature on a letter." At the same conference, former Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov described the existing process as "exhausted", recommending a fresh effort at negotiations and a direct dialogue with the US. In separate comments, Ivanov and IAEA DirGen El-Baradei appeared to defend Iranian enrichment activities as being driven by security concerns. End Summary.

Solana Welcomes US participation; 2005 a missed opportunity

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12. During a session on revitalizing the multilateral security system with Brookings President, Strobe Talbott, a participant asked Solana about his view of the prospects of constructively engaging Iran. Briefly pausing, Solana told the group that, "In the history of negotiations since 2005, I saw a moment when things could have been done. But there was inadequate engagement in the international community." He continued, "Today is much different. For the first time, we will have the United States with us. If we had the US in 2005, the situation could have been very different." Referring to former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, also in attendance, he added, "Ivanov knows this." (Comment: During lunch on 16 July,

Ivanov had extended private side conversations in Spanish with Solana, next to whom he sat. End Comment.) Solana said, "Bad relations are better than no relations. We must talk to everyone", a point which was echoed by several subsequent speakers.

Iranians Informed, but response timing could be an issue

an issue

13. He confirmed to the group that he had formally informed the Iranians that the U.S. would be present at the July 19 P5+1 meeting in Geneva. He expressed concern that the issue of timing could pose some difficulty. In a brief offline exchange with Emboff, Solana added that while this meeting is not a negotiation, "we're entering a second phase of the meeting." While cautious about putting a time limit for an Iranian response on the second phase, he noted the possibility that Iran may delay its answer beyond the "customary six weeks or so."

Former Russian FM: "We have exhausted the existing process"

14. Ivanov described the Iran situation, as "everything is complicated". He said, "I have to admit with regret that the current process has not brought the expected results. In practical terms, I believe we have exhausted the existing

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process." Ivanov said that new centrifuge construction continues and that there is an "urgent need for fresh proposals." He recommended starting negotiations without preconditions and involving Iran in regional security discussions, adding that there needs to be the beginning of a direct Iranian-US dialogue. (Comment: In his remarks, Ivanov acknowledged to the group that he and Solana disagreed that the existing process was exhausted. End Comment.)

15. Drawing a distinction in the multilateral processes used in North Korea and Iran, Ivanov said, "With North Korea, we started [by addressing] their security. With Iran, we have started with their nuclear process, not with either their security or the security of their neighbors."

IAEA Director General: Security concerns driving Iran's atomic ambitions

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16. In his remarks, Director General Mohammed El-Baradei stated that security is the primary driver for Iran's ambitions. He said, "Unless Iran feels secure, they won't give up their nuclear ambitions," adding, "The Iranian enrichment program is a symptom of their insecurity." ElBaradei also asked the group five rhetorical questions on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament: 1) How can we preach non-proliferation to non-nuclear states while nuclear states continue to refine and improve their own nuclear weapons capabilities? 2) How can we ensure that the situation will not get worse? 3) How can we ensure that nuclear material does not fall into extremists' hands? 4) How can we

ensure that we have a proper global verification regime in place? and 5) How can we create an effective international compliance regime? During the following question and answer period, Solana commented on El-Baradei's questions, saying "The most important issue is establishing trust. There is a latent nuclear distrust that cannot continue." Solana added "An Iranian-US bilateral is fundamental" observing that the US' physical presence is a "very constructive" step beyond a "signature on a letter."

## Meeting Background

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17. The MGI event was a Bertelsmann/ Brookings/ NYU/ Stanford-sponsored project with the goal of providing "...recommendations and generate political momentum for the next American president, the United Nations, and key international partners to launch a strategic effort to revitalize the multilateral security system in 2009." Opened by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the opening dinner was keynoted by Nobel laureate and Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Chairman, Dr. Rajendra Pachauri and attended by a diverse mix of former and current foreign affairs notables, including Former Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin, Brookings President Strobe Talbott, Former World Bank President James Wolfensohn, and numerous others.

TIMKEN JR.